619 diate kin of the slayer, and eaten by representatives of the entire clan.
It might, however, be insisted on that the slayer should marry a wife in
682 the name of the dead clansman and raise heirs to him. Strangers having close kinship links with a dominant clan, may refuse to pay compensation, and they tend to regard killing as a sin, since the acceptance of compensation for homicide emphasised a distinction they are anxious to obliterate.(1) A Luo tribe can be defined as a unit in which compensation for homicide is paid, or in which there is provision for payment and the settlement of the feud.

The Tero Buru

619 Luo tribes were formerly separated from each other by the *thim* - a
stretch of bush country left unoccupied. Between segments of the same
766 tribe there was no *thim*. The ritual demonstration of *tero buru* took place across these boundaries. It was the custom of the Luo in the past not to bury an important man, known for his wealth or for his military ability, until the whole tribe, or a large part of it, had crossed the *thim* and demonstrated in front of the homesteads of the neighbouring tribe. The demonstration took the form of insults, challenges to fight and the tempting parade of cattle. It was a matter of honour for the challenging party to stand their ground and defend their herds with their lives. Such demonstrations were also made against neighbouring Bantu who had a similar structure to that of the Luo tribes. The demonstrating party was not usually attacked unless two *buru* parties of opposing tribes met. Sometimes, however, the opportunity was taken to try and raid the cattle of the neighbouring tribe.

649 Payment of compensation and the *tero buru* are the two main indications of tribal separation. In addition there is the association of a specific lineage unit with a tribe.

CLANS AND LINEAGES

613 Each Luo tribe has a dominant clan or lineage. The clan *(dho-ot)*,
has a lineage structure and lineages are differentiated by adding to the
614 name of the clan or larger lineage as and the individual name of the smaller branch. Formerly, the clans were exogamous but today the larger clans are not always so. Within the large clans maximal lineages can intermarry when the distance between them has become great enough.

836 Where the separation between two lineages has not proceeded far enough or where two clans are closely related there is a socially recognised form of love-making called *ondo*, which takes place between the young men and girls of both groups. Marriage is not permitted until the
582 separation has proceeded further. After some generations the less ap-
583 proved type of marriage *(por)* may be permitted. This is marriage by abduction and it is eventually replaced by the ordinary form *(ariyo)* when the complete separation and distinctiveness of the units is recognised.(2)

582 A man is forbidden to marry a woman who is a *wod*, a cognatic relative.

(1) Evans-Pritchard, *Rhodes-Livingstone Journal*, 1949, No.VII, p.4.
(2) *Ibid.*, p.7.

2:Evans-Pritchard E-5 (1936) 1949
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361 619 lion, leopard, and elephant, left unoccupied between a tribe and its neighbours, a no-man's land between them. Such stretches of country were found between tribe and tribe but not between segments of a tribe, even when the segments were of different clans, e.g. between Alego and Gem but not between the JoSeje, the Jokakan, and the Jokaruoth, in Alego tribe. The *thim* was sometimes extensive, as broad as ten miles.

619 766 Tribe raided tribe across the *thim* dividing them and here took place also the ritual demonstrations of *tero buru*. When a tribal dignitary, a man of substance, or a renowned warrior, died, or a man was killed in war, he was left unburied till the whole tribe, or a large segment of it, had advanced across the *thim* and demonstrated against the homesteads of a neighbouring tribe, parading their cattle before them and calling on their men with insults and abuse to come out and fight. Cattle were taken to entice the enemy into battle by a display of booty at his door and to compell the *buru* party to hold their ground should they be attacked, it being held ignoble for a herdsman not to defend his herd to the death. In this way Uyoma used to go out against Sakwa, Seme against Asembo, Kisumu, and Gem, the Gem tribe to the south of the gulf against Kamagambo, Kabwoc, Karacuonyo, and Kanyamwa, Karacuonyo against Kocia, Gem, Myakac, the Kasii Bantu, and even the Lumbwa. Where a Luo tribe bordered a Bantu tribe they made *buru* against it in the same manner as Luo tribes made it against one another, the Bantu tribes of Kavirondo being structurally of the same order as Luo tribes. Usually the demonstrating party was not attacked. This only happened on occasions when *buru* parties of opposite tribes met, each declaring its intention to challenge the other to battle, or when the demonstration turned into a raid for cattle, or when homesteads were sacked. The custom is kept up, but to-day is no more than a mimic skirmish, the cattle being driven into the *thim* where the people smash the shrubs and grasses. They bring back with them handfuls of a creeper to represent cattle taken from an enemy and throw these on the roof of the dead man's hut.

554 621 There was nothing that can be described as political office in a Luo tribe. The *ruoth* was an influential person, but no more. He was richer than his fellows in wives and cattle and people came often to his home to eat there and to discuss affairs of the day. I was told that a poor man might ask him for the gift of a cow to help him marry and that it was considered an honour to marry into his family. Any man gaining an enhanced social position of the kind was called *ruoth*, though he was in most instances a member of the dominant clan of the tribe. Some warriors (*thoondi*, bulls) won renown for their courage and resource in war and were asked to lead raids into enemy territory. Though admired, a war leader, sometimes called *thoon jatelo*, was not necessarily a *ruoth* or rich man, for he received little, perhaps a single cow, as his portion of the spoils of war. The position was not hereditary but derived from individual prowess and initiative. The *won gweng*, 'father of the land', seems also, at any rate in some parts of Luoland, to have been a man of influence in each district. He was a senior member of a lineage of the dominant clan of the tribe and settled land disputes. The one who repre-

4: Hobley G-5 (ca. 1900) 1902 FL11 Luo FL11

worn is black. Others smear themselves with white earth. Relations in the village shave their heads three days after a death. The eldest son of the deceased sits on a stool in the road outside the village and his head is shaved by an old woman. For three days after the death of anyone of importance the villagers do not cultivate.

If a big chief dies all the surrounding people collect at the village; even if a neighbouring clan is at war hostilities are suspended, and they attend the funeral rites of their late enemy. In the case of the death of a chief a new hut is built and the deceased is buried inside in a sitting posture; the grave is dug by a brother of the deceased. A new ox hide is placed at the bottom of the grave, and the head of the corpse is covered with a water pot. Seeds of every kind of grain grown are put into the grave; sweet potatoes are excluded. The people dance and drink *tembo* for ten days and many oxen are slaughtered. The men wail for ten days, but the women wail every morning for about a year. No one cultivates the fields for ten days.

Birth customs.—On the occasion of a birth, if it is a boy it is kept inside the house for four days, if it is a girl for three days. When a birth takes place the female neighbours attend, and a goat is killed for the mother and the other women. No man is allowed in the hut until three or four days have elapsed. The father of the child does not eat or sleep again in the hut until the child begins to cut its teeth. The mother does not go to cultivate for about nine days after the birth.

If a woman has had two children and they have both died, she will upon the birth of the third child take it out of the village on a basket-work tray and place it in the road; an old woman who has had a hint of this will go and pick it up and take it to her house, then the father of the child goes and buys it back for a goat; having recovered it the father bores the lobe of its right ear and inserts a small earring of brass wire. If the child is a boy it is henceforward called Owiti and if a girl it is called Awiti, meaning the child that has been thrown away. The old woman who picked up the child is afterwards called mother in addition to the real mother.

Twins are considered lucky, but the infants and their parents have to stay in seclusion in their hut for a whole month. Women neighbours may enter the hut but men may not. The twin born first is called Apio (the one who comes quickly). The twin born second is called Adongo (the one who is delayed). The birth of twins is signalised by dances which extend over a whole month; they are apparently of a somewhat obscene character.

Marriage customs.—Girls are espoused at the age of seven, and they often go to their husband's house at the age of ten or eleven. The suitor commences by making small payments to the father of the girl every month or two. When the man has paid say one cow and twenty sheep he takes the girl to his house.

The unmarried girls of the village take the bride to her husband's house. The father of the girl kills an ox and takes the meat and a quantity of *wimbe* porridge to the man's village by way of providing a wedding feast. If the man's

4: Hobley G-5 (ca. 1900) 1902 FL11 Luo FL11

originally came from the north-west. I imagine that the original possessors of these beads had considerable settlements in the neighbourhood of the Maragolia Hills, and that beads were continually being lost in the fields, and now when a heavy thunderstorm comes it washes some of the surface soil away and exposes an odd bead now and again. The supply of the blue Nya-Luo beads is of course quite inadequate for the population, and many make up for the scarcity with the ordinary blue *kibeti* bead.[1] Occasionally these ancient beads are green and yellow, but the usual colour is blue.

The Ja-Luo have a curious habit of shaving curved patterns on their heads (Fig. 11).

FIG. 11.—VIEW OF THE TOP OF A MAN'S HEAD; SHOWING HOW THE PATTERN IS SHAVED.

The young men often wear an armlet of cylindrical wooden blocks on the upper arm; the wooden blocks are coloured red with oxide of iron. A band similarly ornamented with wooden blocks is often worn round the forehead. Some of the older men wear the curved canine tooth of a hippo on the forehead. The tooth is ground down laterally till it is only about one-eighth of an inch in thickness; others wear the tooth of a wart hog attached to a necklace.

The Ja-Luo have a curious habit of standing on the top of an ant hill or in some prominent place on one leg with the flat of the other foot resting against the knee, reminding one of the attitude adopted by a stork; they will remain in this attitude quite comfortably for a considerable time. This habit is I believe characteristic of the Dinka and others of the tribes on the Nile south of Fashoda.

Miscellaneous customs.—If a person shuts the door behind him when he leaves a house, people at once say he is a witch doctor. If a wife does this to her husband, the husband will not enter her house again until she fetches a goat from her father and kills it. Similarly if a man is the culprit he has to kill a goat to avert the ill luck. If a house is struck by lightning and anybody is killed inside, the head of the village walks three times round the house with a red rooster and the house is then broken up and the wood utilized for any purpose.

Witchcraft, etc.—It is believed that people are killed by witchcraft; the person possessing the medicine has only to show it to a person in order to kill him; to save the person bewitched it is necessary to catch the wizard and to bring him to the patient and he can remove the spell, and the wizard has to pay a fine; this class of medicine man does not hide himself. There is a deeper kind of witchcraft which is only practised at night and with great secrecy. It is called Jamkingo; among the Gemi tribe many of the clan previously referred to who forge iron possess these powers.

[1] With the kind assistance of Mr. C. H. Read, of the British Museum, I examined the collections of beads at the Museum from various parts of the world, and I found yellow and blue beads of the exact colour and shape among the Egyptian antiquities and jasper beads identical in appearance to the Nya-Luo both from ancient Egypt, and also from excavations made on the site of some buried cities in Beluchistan.

5: Hobley G-5 (ca. 1900) 1903 FL11 Luo FL11
Bantu Kavirondo FL4
Nandi FL13

B 824 778

The word *Murembe* in Lu-Wanga means peace, and when peace is made between two tribes, the ceremony, if possible, always takes place at the foot of one of these trees, as the tree is a great peace charm, and the dog, which is slaughtered as part of the ceremony, is generally tied by its neck to the tree.

B 825 751

Among the Awa-wanga, if a man kills a python, it is believed that the snake will return, or possibly that its spirit will return and afflict his children with blindness. Prompt measures must, therefore, be taken to avert this disaster, and he accordingly measures the length of the reptile, and not later than the day following, hoes a path through the grass near his village equal in length to that of the snake, kills a white fowl, then sprinkles its blood in the clearing and also pours a little *mtama* or *wimbi* gruel there too; this acts as a charm to render the python's malignancy futile. Even if a python is seen only, it is considered safe to go through this ceremony. The next child that is borne to the man after killing a python is called *wanawaka* if it is a boy and *newaka* if it is a girl; (*waka* is the Lu-Wanga word for python).

B [553]

B 766 [824]

A most extraordinary custom, which holds among the Awa-wanga and may be mentioned under the present heading, is that if a young girl, a virgin, dies, her female relatives, whose duty it is to bury her, artificially deflower the body before burial; this is always done by the forcible insertion of the pointed bulb of spathes which cover the immature flowers at the lower end of a growing bunch of bananas. If this is omitted, it is believed that the sisters of the deceased will not be found to be virgins on their marriage; this would be considered somewhat of a disgrace.

B [831]

B 171

It will be remembered that in Mr. Roscoe's account of the Baganda customs,[1] the flower of the plantain or banana plays a certain part in the ritual which is gone through upon the birth of twins, and is there, I believe, used as a symbol of fruitfulness or plenty; possibly a similar idea may, in the past, have had some connection with its employment in the instance now described.

● L 765 ● 766 824

There are two curious customs, in which the thorn of the acacia plays a part, which may, perhaps, be mentioned under the heading of charms. Among the *Ja-Luo* when a person dies, for days, perhaps months after, the whole village wails with great fervour, and at stated intervals according to the conventions laid down for the case. If, however, a barren woman dies, the people of the village at once commence to wail in the usual way, and the brothers and sisters of the deceased proceed as quickly as possible to the village where the death occurred. The first blood-relation of the deceased who arrives on the scene takes a sharp acacia thorn, sticks it into the sole of the foot of the corpse and breaks it off; immediately this is done all wailing ceases at once, nor is it renewed as in the case of an ordinary death. The origin and the object of this strange custom appears to have been entirely lost.

N 787 824

Among the Nandi, when a raiding party is being arranged, the *chemeron* (warriors) proceed to a *laibon*, or medicine man, an ox is killed and the *laibon*,

[1] *Journ. Anthrop. Inst.*, vol. xxxii, p. 33, *et seq.*

10: Roscoe M-5 (ca. 1900)1915
FL11 Luo FL11

765 she makes a new girdle from papyrus while still at the river, and wears it as she returns to her village. She is then free to remarry.

775 Dead people are sometimes said to come to life again. This is reported to take place within a short time after death. It is said that the spirit had gone on a journey and had returned after the man was thought to be dead, but in time to stop the funeral. The supposed dead person sneezes and revives, the sneezing being thought to be the signal that the spirit has returned from his journey.

764 **Death of a wife.** Should a wife die before her husband, her body is buried in the house, and, when the husband dies, he is buried in the goat-house near. He may not be buried in the same house with his wife. The animal offered at a man's funeral is always an ox, while it is an old cow that is offered at a woman's funeral. The skin from the animal is used to wrap the body as a shroud. The meat from the animal is divided in the following manner: a shoulder is retained for the dead and is eaten by the mourners at the grave, the second shoulder is for the relatives in the village, and the remainder, with the exception of the neck, is for the guests who live at a distance: the neck is given to the medicine-man.

766 762 A suicide is buried in the open, never in a house. Should the death have taken place in a house, it is burned down, for no one will live in it.

Warfare.

721 **Mode of conducting wars.** *The people are not fond of war* and fortunately their wars are never very serious matters. Cattle-lifting and women-stealing are the chief causes of fighting. The battles take place after short notice, when it is found that cattle have been robbed or when the alarm is given that a woman has been captured by some other clan. When a fight is impending, the attacking party drive a few cows to some spot where the other party may see them and challenge the others to come and take them. The party challenged must either attempt to carry off the cows while the others protect them, or they must pay a fine imposed by the attacking army.

11: Hartmann M-5 (ca. 1920) 1928 FL11 Luo FL11

food for the child, but they themselves only drink beer. On the last day all the iron, brass and other ornaments which deceased used to wear are sprinkled with some beer, made of kaffir-corn, which has previously been sacrificed. Then the ornaments are devided amongst the relations, who will wear them in future. After this all go home.

Next morning a sheep is killed and eaten. The wet skin is called the garment of deceased, and as such is worn for that day by his eldest son. At night it is slung over the gateway, where in time it rots away or some hyena finds it and makes off with it.

Every person, whether man, woman or child, is buried absolutely naked, and without any ornaments; even the little brass rings with a big blue bead each, which the old men wear all along the edge of both ears are taken out immediately after his death. To this rule there is one exception only. A *jubilo*, who is not an ordinary medicine-man, but one who has secret medicine, which he does not use for evil purposes except in warfare, is considered the greatest among men. For this reason he is specially honoured at his death. A big bull is killed and offered as a sacrifice, and the *jubilo* is buried in the fresh skin of the animal.

Burial of a Woman.

From the moment of a woman's death wailing goes on till next morning about 10 o'clock, when either her husband or her son dig the grave. All her ornaments are taken off, like at the occasion of a man's death.

Every woman is buried inside her own hut; because a woman is called the owner of the hut *(wonjot)*, hence at her death the hut has served its purpose.

When the grave is ready deceased's husband, assisted by two other people put her down in it, lying on her left side (men on their right). Her children fill up the grave scraping the earth with hands and feet, her backs towards the corpse. The wailing goes on for another half hour whilst the crowds gather.

Then all the women and girls prepare themselves for a kind of wardance to take place near the village. They take off their tassels which they throw on the roof deceased's hut. They smear themselves with mud, and dress themselves up in the war-dress of the men who came to the funeral (shields and spears left at home).

While the girls and women are dancing to the beating of drums, the men and boys squat down in the village and smoke hemp. After about an hour they come back from the dance, return their apparel to the men and go home. But the men remain till the afternoon, and those living near by call again at night for a chat.

After 3 days the women of the neighbourhood gather again in order to cook and eat the dried meat, fish and other food which the deceased left in the hut at her death. After the meal they go to sweep the grave (on the 3rd day, not the 4th as after the burial of a man) gathering some earth of it in an old basket, which is put on the path outside the kraal together with her so-called pillow *(wimbi)*. They also give away deceased's hut to an old woman, and throw away its handle.

On the same day the husband of deceased and one old woman go round to the huts of the near relations, sprinkling in each hut some medicine, throwing in each hut the scrotum of an ichneumon, and gathering from its inhabitants a small

14: Johnston G-4, 5 (no date) 1904 FL11 Luo FL11

765 a dead person shave their heads for three days after the death. The eldest son of the deceased sits on a stool outside the village, and has his head shaved. If any one of importance dies, the neighbours do not 766 cultivate for three days after the death. If a big chief dies, all the surrounding people colect at the village, and in such cases even hostilities between clans are suspended, and all join in the funeral rites of the late chief, even if he happns to be at war with some of his dependent clans. In the case of the death of a chief, a new hut is built. The grave of the chief is dug by his brother. A new ox hide is placed at the bottom of the grave, and the head of the corpse is covered with a water-pot. Seeds of every kind of grain grown in the vicinity are put into the grave, but sweet potatoes are excluded. The people dance and drink "tembo" for ten days, and slaughter many oxen. The men wail for ten days, but the women wail every morning for a year. No one cultivates the fields for ten days.

428 When a man dies, *his property* goes to the brother, if the children are small. If the eldest son is grown up, he takes the property and gives his brothers a share, but a man is not allowed to take the amount paid by any one who marries one of his sisters. This marriage payment goes to [58] the deceased father's brothers. The brothers of the deceased take his wives, but the eldest son probably takes the youngest wife of his deceased [22] father. When a chief dies, the son whom he has chosen succeeds him. This successor is chosen really some years before the chief dies. The successor divides the private property of the chief with his brothers.

727 When a warrior *has killed a man in warfare*, he must (besides 782 shaving his head) eate a fowl and hang it round his neck head uppermost. He must not enter his home village until this has been done. Whilst the fowl is suspended o the man's neck by the beak its head is severed from the body, and the head is left hanging from the man's neck. The warrior then enters the village, and shortly afterwards prepares a big feast to propitiate the man he has killed, so that his ghost may not give 788 trouble. If a house is struck by *lightning*, and any one is killed inside, the head-man of the village must obtain a male fowl of a red colour and walk round the house holding up the fowl three times. The house is then broken up, and the wood is used for other purposes. When desiring 728 *to make peace* with another tribe with whom they have been at war, they kill a sheep and put part of it into a wooden mortar such as is used for crushing grain. The representatives of each side then take out pieces of the flesh and exchange them reciprocally. An old man belonging to the side which has been worsted, and which is suing for peace, must [234] then go to the head village of the conqueror and proceed to sweep up the cattle kraal. This is accepted as a kind of submission.

145 Like the Bantu Kavirondo, the Ja-luo are in the main a healthy people.

19:Wilson E-5 (ca. 1950) 1960
FL11 Luo FL11

because a ghost of a virgin who has reached puberty was regarded as extremely dangerous. The defloration, still practiced in parts of Luo today, was regarded as satisfying her natural desire to bear children.

The spirits of warriors killed in battle were placated by the tribe as a whole in ceremonial and ritual held at the borders of the tribal land (*thim*) by *poro bilo* and *tero buru*, where sacrifices were made and the tribal ancestors placated to welcome the ghost of the hero. The affair became a tribal responsibility, whereas normally death is regarded as a responsibility of the family or minor lineage segment.

A person who found the body of a man or of a woman would commence wailing as a closely related mourner. If the body turned out to be that of a person among whose clan the finder could marry, then a wife or husband was found for the finder in the belief that the spirit of the deceased planned and directed the discovery of the body to the end that the group of the finder should be united in marriage with that of the deceased.

Witches, if caught in the act of "running about at night," were killed instantly and with equanimity. The body of a person killed as a witch was mutilated by driving a stake into the rectum after which the body would be thrown into its village. An old custom still associated with this is the insistence of the relatives of a woman who died suddenly, or inexplicably, to examine her body for signs of having been a witch. Female witches are believed to be trained by their husbands to run at night with them and, because they are weaker, are frequently caught and killed. Bride-wealth may not be reclaimed or, if not finally paid, must be completed by her husband if a woman is killed under these circumstances.

Accidental deaths are regarded as having been inspired by the ancestors, and therefore require placation of the spirit of the ancestor divined as having been responsible. Deaths from sickness are believed to come from many causes, the chief of